/271 cont./

621 be found also divided into two groups according to their position
616 in relation to the river. Thus we have: /272/
614
823 Ewâguddudõge čẹbegeʷõge: those of the downstream Buriti
Ewâguddudõge čãbõgeʷõge: those of the upstream Buriti
Āróre čẹbegeʷõge: those of the downstream Caterpillar
Āróre čãbõgeʷõge: those of the upstream Caterpillar
Bokodori čẹbegeʷõge: those of the downstream Big-Armadillo
Bokodori čãbõgeʷõge: those of the upstream Big-Armadillo

In contrast, the Paiwe, Bakoro, and Bóro clans are entirely upstream; the Ki, O, Bãdejeba, and Apibore clans are entirely downstream.

552 The two houses which respectively face the two doors of the
592 men's house and through which the diameter dividing upstream and
[823] downstream passes have a special name, which expresses their
[345] special position. Their inhabitants are called Baiãddadaᵡge, i.e., "those who look at the house" (Fig. 15, Nos. 4 and 17 /see p. 6/). It should be noted that the door of the men's house
[345] which faces the Tugare half is called Čera, whereas the one facing
[591] the Čera half is called Tugare, marriage being matrilocal (Pl. IX, A /see p. 47/).

Over and above these spatial determinations the natives also use others, according to enumerative order, importance, or familial relations. Certain houses are called Bo'pokẹjeʷõge, "the last ones" (literally: Bo', people; pokẹje, again; wo, there; -ge, plural). Thus we have Bãdejeba bo'pokẹjeʷo (Fig. 15, No. 12), the special name of the last house of the Čera phratry, and Ewâguddudõge bo'pokẹjeʷõge (Fig. 15, No. 16).

A household can also receive a special name according to the particular importance of the grouping or construction. Hence House 15 is called, perhaps because of its remarkable form, Ewâguddudõge kurigeõ, "those of the big Buriti."

[614] Finally, when the distribution of clan members in different houses corresponds to a systematic distribution of relatives of one family, each house is designated by its familial character.

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

836 **Marriage.**—There is much premarital license for girls, who are abducted into the men's club. Apart from moiety exogamy and preferential clan unions, the kinship nomenclature suggests marriage with the father's eldest sister's daughter and with the father's younger sister. The actual occurrence of such arrangements, however, is as yet undemonstrated. On the other hand, sororal bigamy and the simultaneous marriage with a woman and her daughter by a previous husband are observed facts. Residence is matrilocal.

Death observances.—A dying person (das Garças group) is smeared with urucú amid feminine lamentations. The corpse is covered and must no longer be seen by the women and children. Kinsfolk gash themselves, so as to make the blood trickle on the bier. Indoors a long chant begins to the accompaniment of gourd rattles. The dead person is wrapped and tied in a mat with all his possessions, including his broken bow and arrows. At sunset the body is taken to the men's club, where the chiefs chant and shake their rattles all night. After a brief rest in the morning, the song is resumed and continues until sunset. Near the club the young men prepare a shallow provisional grave. The mourners again wail, gash themselves, tear out or cut their hair, and spatter blood on the burial. Until the close of the mourning period, male relations avoid urucú and kinswomen put on a special girdle.

Mortuary rites are combined with other ceremonies. On the eve of the burial the people organize a hunt in honor of the dead, the game being brought to the bereaved and communally eaten. A mourner gives to the valiant hunter of the opposite moiety the hairs he has plucked from his head and a gourd trumpet. Both the hair and the gourd represent the deceased person's soul (aroe). For a fortnight chanting continues in the mourners' hut, then the flesh is removed from the corpse. Young men now impersonate the mythical hero Mariddo (pl. 87), who danced for hours with a heavy bundle on his head, their vain efforts to emulate this feat arousing general hilarity as the parcel falls to the ground. At this juncture bull-roarers are wielded, representing a large mythical beast. The hunter reappears in a disguise as the dead man's representative and the mourners lead him from the club. Women and children would die at sight of either him or the bull-roarer. On the other hand, this is precisely the time for initiating boys deemed old enough. Accordingly, several nude youths plastered with mud represent the mythical animal and, after caressing the hunter, frighten the novices with yells and pelt them with mud before allowing them to see the bull-roarers. Thus the funeral rites involve a boys' initiation.

After a night's chanting, the corpse is unwrapped, the bones spread out, washed in a stream, and then carried to the club, where the souls

593
837 ily and the normal economic routine would be disrupted by
836 internal conflict resulting from such a love affair.
602

There is no obligatory sororate among the Bororo, though
587 the sororate is more frequent than the levirate. When the
606 family of a deceased woman likes her husband very much, they try to keep him by offering to him in marriage the younger sister of the deceased. The girl's mother then goes to see his parents, taking as gifts some dishes she has made for the occasion. She explains that her family wants to keep him
[585] in the house. The new wife also prepares some dishes and cigars that her husband will take into the men's house and offer to his brothers. This is not a special procedure, but
[43] the usual one after any marriage. The small retribution in food and cigars is given by the husband to the men from his moiety to compensate them for the loss of an available sexual partner.

As a conclusion to this discussion of Bororo marriage,
582 there are few things that I would like to point out. The
593 formula that the Bororo sometimes use (see page 82) when a girl is given in marriage shows that the Bororo conceive the ideal husband-wife relationship on the model of the parent-child and cross-sibling relationships. This balance between cross-sibling and spouse solidarities is further attested by
591 the Bororo residential pattern. Uxorilocal residence requires a man to leave his natal house and make his economic contribution to his wife's lineage. However, the multiclan, multivillage arrangement of settlements does not require that

591 a man leaves his village. He will continue an active economic
593 and affective relationship with his sisters. If we consider the Bororo social groups, we find another indication of the
[594] balance between cross-sibling and spouse solidarities. After marriage a man becomes a member of his wife's matrilineal extended family, which is the most important residential and
[613] economic group among the Bororo. However, a man remains a member of the matrilineage into which he was born, and by virtue of this membership he holds rights on some particular names, songs, ceremonies, and cultural items. The placing of equal weight on cross-sibling and spouse solidarities may be correlated with the structure of the rules which govern
121 the strictly kinship extensions. Lounsbury has suggested
593 that some Crow-type systems emphasize the "fraternal" and others the "filial" aspect in the relationship between a female Ego and her brother. Where the "fraternal" aspect is emphasized, the cross-sibling solidarity will be prevalent; where the "filial" aspect is emphasized, the spouse solidar-
593 ity will be prevalent (Lounsbury 1965: 176-177). The Bororo type of Crow rule and the female parallel-collateral equivalence rule, which were required to account for the kinship system, did not indicate any preference for either the "fraternal" or the "filial" aspect of the cross-sibling relation-
604 ships. All of a female Ego's "maternal uncles" and all of her "sororal nephews" have been reduced to the category of her "brothers." On the other hand, all of these "brothers" are like sons to her when she reckons to their children and their wives.

Chapter VIII

FAMILY LIFE

592 The basic economic unit consists of a woman and her husband, her daughters and their husbands, and all their unmarried children. After initiation the sons move into the men's house, but all their belongings remain in their mother's house, and their food continues to be prepared in their natal home until they marry. If they later divorce, their mothers and sisters will again care for them. When a man marries he moves into his wife's house on the other side of the village, but his most precious ornaments remain behind, in care of his sisters' husbands. A house may be occupied by several extended families, each family having its own fireplace. If the families are small, the sisters decide whether they will cook together or separately. When they cook together they use the same fireplace, but each woman cooks in her own pots and provides her own firewood. The families living in one house do not eat together, but the women always exchange some of the food they have prepared. They also help each other care for the children. If a woman is busy making fire or cooking, one of her sisters will take the baby for her; and when a woman goes into the woods to collect firewood, her mother or sister will take care of the

596 children left at home. She will bathe them, feed them, and
855 even nurse them.

591 If a man does not get along well with his wife's family, he can move his family to another village. This movement of the nuclear family allows a man to interact with new people but does not affect the structure of the new group, which will be very much like the one left behind. The man will live again in his "wife's sister's" house, and he will de-
591 pend again on his "brothers" in quarrels. If the wife's
596 mother is still alive, a change of village will seldom occur. Apart from the affective ties between the two women, the mother likes the couple to live with her because of the help her daughter gives her and the contribution that her son-in-law makes to the household by hunting and fishing. The daughter, on the other hand, can feel quite sure that her children will be looked after when she goes into the woods to collect food or firewood. And the husband hopes that his wife will grow wiser from the good advice she received from her mother.

593 A young couple often goes alone to the woods or to the
461 fields to do some work together that would be difficult for a woman to do alone: for example, cutting palm for the extraction of palm hearts, or cutting trees for the extraction of honey. Often these tasks are only an excuse for a
593 couple's desire to be alone together. Occasionally a man,
484 his wife, and their children will make hunting or fishing trips lasting several days. The trips may or may not be a

Chapter XII

STRUCTURE AND PROCESS

Changes of Roles

178 The structure of the Bororo society, as presented here,
613 allows the Bororo great potential for adjustment. Increase in population and consequent clustering of the members of the same lineage within a single village can motivate the less important lineage brothers to seek their fortune in other places where they will be more appreciated and will have the chance to exercise their lineage prerogatives in ceremonies.
[362] Also, if a house becomes too crowded and a particular lineage
[591] sister wants to live in her own house, she can persuade her husband to build her a new house. In this way a couple can become more independent, but there is always the risk that she and her children will in time be classified as younger brothers of her particular lineage, and her personal names
[36] will become lineage names. In summary, there are three important consequences of an expanding population: a. founding of new villages; b. more equal dispersal of population among villages; c. establishment of new and less-important lineages.

177 With the decrease in population that has been going on
178 from the time the Bororo came in contact with civilization,
361 the process is reversed: a. old villages are abandoned be-
613

/129 cont./

584 Colbacchini (o.c., pp. 55 and 56) writes about the Bororo: "In general and in the majority of cases it is the woman who precedes the man in the marriage proposal. The young woman who feels led to esteem a young man and who wishes to be joined to him consults in particular the mother, if she is still alive, or the older sister. If such a proposal is well received by the mother, the latter will then take an active part in satisfying the daughter's wishes. She will then try to find out, among her friends and the lad's relatives, whether the daughter would be readily accepted as a wife. In the affirmative care, the mother and the daughter prepare some dishes which they judge or know will be to the taste of the young man, and the mother of the pretendant, or in her absence the older sister, knowing that the lad /130/ is home, goes at noon to look for him, taking the prepared delicacies, in a wicker basket, in order at the same time to make to him the proposal and official request. Upon entering the house, she will address the young man, who will be sitting near the fire working on the arrows; and she will say to him: -- A wogae i roino -- (I came looking for you) -- and she will make him the proposal. If the young man wishes to accept it, he will say nothing, but will stretch out his hand to receive the gift sent, which he will place at his side. And with this gesture the request is granted. The agreement concluded, jubilant with joy, she will immediately take the [591] good news to her daughter. Both the mother and the relatives of the bride then set about preparing the house, because it is [513] the custom that the man goes to live in the wife's house. They will prepare the fire, the straw mat for sleeping, the receptacle 584 for water; afterwards they will cook something and wait. At 585 nightfall, the lad will retire to the bride's house and, without saying anything, will enter and place himself beside the one who from this moment on is his wife. The mother or the sister will go to the house of the bridegroom to get what belongs

/134 cont./

616 will even turn away to look toward the opposite side, as though
562 to indicate that they want even to escape the danger and
[689] occasion of their eyes meeting. Failure in this traditional precept is considered very grave, and the culprit would fall into the general indignation, into the censure of all, since any look or smile between persons of different sex and diverse dynasty is generally considered bad and immoral.
[264] Never will the women of one dynasty let themselves be seen eating or drinking in the presence of men of another dynasty, and vice versa. There is not, however, any prohibition of these relations between individuals of the same dynasty, be
[593] they men or women. Therefore, when one sees, a man talking to a woman, one is to understand immediately that they are from the same dynastic branch, because, even between husband and wife, the same rules are observed in public, even though not so scrupulously; it will, however, be difficult for the man to talk or to offer anything to his own wife in public, to place her by his side or for them to be together, except when they leave the house and both go to gather fruits, small tubers, or other things in the forest; this is considered a private act."

593 /135/ The position of the husband, conditioned by this severe separation which forces him to spend much time in the men's house, underlines, together with the matrilineal and matrilocal organization, matrimony as an institution socially
[594] secondary, even almost as a private matter. The family, not the one made up of the husband, wife, and the children of both, but the one which consists of the mother and all her consanguineous relatives, forms among the Bororo the primitive
[591] cell and the base of the society. The state of belonging to the mother's family is not altered by marriage either for the man or for the woman; only the man shifts to sleeping, after marriage, in the house of the mother-in-law (matrilocal), while the woman remains for her whole life in the house of her own mother; said better: the man, after marriage, has to make his mother-in-law's house larger by means of an

/135 cont./

573 added room, and the woman, and thus the maternal family,
591 remains the owner of this contiguous part of the building.

Karl von den Steinen observes in this respect (o.c., p. 501): "The young wife remains with the children in the parents' [512] house. The young husband only spends the night in this house and during the day lives in the men's house, if he is not [354] hunting. The young couple has a fire for themselves, the [603] grandmother sits a little apart with the grandchildren. It [855] continues thus until the grandparents' death. The grandmother nurses, when the young wife goes hunting with the husband or when she is looking for palm nuts in the forest; 'they always still have milk, when the daughters marry.'"

836 Other characteristics of the so-called maternal family are
431 evident from the following indications of the same explorer
[411] /136/ (o.c., p. 502): "The women of the quarters (the girls in the men's house) received from their lovers arrows with long bamboo points. Each one handed over two, and the young woman took them, having squatted, with an indifferent expression. When I was present once, I counted 18 such love [602] arrows for one girl. They are handed to the brother or to the [421] mother's brother." The destiny of these arrows gives, then, an idea of the property relationships within the maternal family.

224 Also interesting in this respect is the custom according to
602 which, an ounce having been killed, the skin is handed over "to the brother of the woman recently passed away or to the uncle of the man recently passed away" (von den Steinen, ibidem). It is supposed that this uncle is a brother of the mother.

593 Finally, one of the most important signs of the maternal
114 family: "It was always as a natural protector of the woman that her brother presented himself to us" (von den Steinen, ibidem).

/137 cont./

595 and she remains owner of the house, we would have to oppose the one that in similar circumstances polygyny is not only conceivable, but also in use, as examples from Africa show.

[121] /138/ On the other hand, certainly, no case among primitive peoples is known to me in which patrilocality and patriliny are joined with polyandry, while the latter, in combination with matrilocality and the matriliny is not only possible, but also extant, as I found out precisely among the Bororo. The Indians in Meruri, for example, Aipobureu, called Tiago Marques by the missionaries, told me that formerly it would happen that an energetic woman might have two husbands if she were capable of supporting both with the produce of harvesting. They said that such cases had surely been very rare. Later one of these cases was confirmed for me in Sangradouro by the Bororo Kudde, belonging to the clan of the Bokodori and called Mario by the whites.

121 582 591 [586] One can say, in general, that among primitive peoples with matrilocal and matrilineal institutions matrimony has fewer fixed rules than among peoples with patrilocal and patrilineal institutions. Among the first, everything is adjusted in an easier and more natural way, the sexes are united numerically according to necessity and capacity, also being able to separate with fewer impediments, since the children remain with the mother. Among the Bororo, the initiative for divorce can come from the husband as well as from the wife.

586 121 It is beyond doubt that, among primitive peoples, both the man and the woman are respected by the other sex and desired for matrimony according to the capacity for work. On this, however, there are exceptions, as /139/ among us: sometimes the lazier woman has, thanks to her "sex appeal," the harder-working husband, and a sluggish man has a more diligent wife.

/501 cont./

584 Consent of the parents for the marriage is not demanded. Nor do the parents give or receive anything. If they oppose it, a conflict breaks out and force is decisive. The loser leaves the village. Everything rests on the right of the stronger.

•591 The young wife remains with her children in the house of her parents. The young husband merely spends the night there in the house, and during the day, if he is not hunting, he lives 603 in the men's house. The young married people have a fire for themselves, the grandmother sits somewhat to one side with the grandchildren. It is this way until the death of the grandparents.

[853] The grandmother nurses if the young woman goes hunting with [149] her husband or goes after palm nuts in the forest; "they always still have milk when their children marry."

583 Young men see to it that they find a wife in good time, and here there are two customs with respect to dress which are [304] of the greatest interest. The ear lobes of the girl are pierced by her future husband;* if he does not marry her himself, she is

* Those of the boy by his father.

married by his son.

Moreover, whoever puts the cuff on a boy becomes "related by marriage" to him and will marry his sister or his aunt.

836 /502/ Now the customs of the men's house. The Brazilians 548 maintained that there were instances when 30 to 40 men in succession had taken the same woman, whose arms and legs were held down. Sometimes the girls were openly fetched during the day and, as described, painted and adorned amid much playful jesting; sometimes they were caught late at night. Thus, one night we saw how the bachelors lying in front of the ranchão made an attack on a group of women coming home from a mourning gathering; two were captured in a soundless struggle, wrapped in blankets so that they were not recognizable, and dragged into the men's house. One of the two, however, as we saw the next morning, was experienced Maria, whose resistance could not have been meant very seriously. "You did not want to get married yesterday?" I asked. "Now I am already married," she replied

601 sister (*aalámbí*) which are extended to both parallel and cross cousins. Distinctions are made for younger and older sibling. Only one term is used for designating one's own children, brother's and sister's children, as well as grandchildren, *manamdá*. (See chart 12.)

582 An individual is prohibited from marrying parallel and cross cousins but beyond this restriction he is permitted to marry into any of the other

●591 families. After marriage a young man lives with his wife's family until his father-in-law dies. He then builds a house near his own brothers. During his stay with his wife's family he obeys

[606] his father-in-law as if he were his own father. There appear to be no father- or mother-in-law taboos. Disputes between the families were

[627] settled by the chief who forced wrongdoers to make payments to the injured parties.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

MYTHS

773 One day some ripe figs fell from the fig tree and out of one of these figs came *Aípuku*, the first man in the world. He woke up suddenly and walked around. He was lonely and thought a long time about what to do. Then he picked up four figs and placed them in a row on the ground and walked away. He heard voices, and when he came back the figs had turned into human beings, two men and two women. One of these was *Barabéla* whom he married; the others went away.

Then *Aípuku* made the ancestors of many Indian tribes. He took macaba palm nuts and set them in a row; from these nuts came the Umotina—the men came from the long nuts and the women from the short nuts. He made skirts for the women and gave each man a bow and some arrows, told them where to live, and gave each one a name. These people married and are the ancestors of the Umotina. Then he made many other Indian tribes, using the fruit of the mangaba and the berries of the bauwi tree.

One day *Barabéla* asked *Aípuku* what was wrong with his legs. He looked down and noticed that the calves of his legs were sore and swollen. They kept swelling until they burst open. Out of one calf came the white men (*umusé*), and out of the other, the *abusé*, or enemy Indian tribes.

[P. 108 (1)]

584 Young men choose their future wives. When a young man finds a girl he likes he paints himself, puts on all his decorations, goes to the girl's house, and sleeps on the girl's mat all night, but without touching her. Next morning the parents of the girl ask her if she wishes to marry the young man. If the girl agrees, her mother orders the young man to go out hunting. The mother observes the young man's behavior and success in hunting. [585] When the young man has brought in enough game he is permitted to sleep with the girl and is thereafter considered her husband. He remains with his [591] in-laws and is treated like a son, for if the father-in-law has sons of his own they go out in marriage. [606] Mothers-in-law appear to be important in men's lives, for one man told me that when one goes into the spirit world one asks first about one's mother-in-law.

763 When a person is dying the relatives begin to wail around his mat. The friends of the dying then come and participate in the wailing. A relative of the dying person then selects a non-764 relative to bury the corpse. This man, who is called *motokdto*, asks other men to help him and they dig a grave about 5 feet deep in the floor of the house using sword clubs for digging. The body is then painted and the decorations are put on, the bow and a few arrows are laid beside him so they rest on his right shoulder, and the sword club is placed on his chest. He is then sewn up in four layers of sleeping mats (*púpurúna*) and is lowered into the grave. A woman is similarly wrapped in mats, and a digging stick is placed with her. The grave is left open for one day so that friends and relatives can continue crying over it. The 768 people build a new house nearby but keep the old one repaired for as long as a year, depending upon how well the deceased person was regarded by his or her relatives.

775 Men enter the spirit world armed so that they can defend themselves. The digging stick which the women take is also used for defence. If men quarrel and fight while living, the loser dreams that when he dies he will turn into a jaguar or a snake and will lie in wait for his enemy's ghost. When this ghost enters the spirit world he will kill it. This is why men must be armed. The Umotina stated that their greatest fear was about their own souls after death. If a person injured